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MMD:	OR:	POL:	DM:	RR:	COL:	EML:	GEN:	BSE:

040 NNC‡cNNC
100 10 Dennison, Walter.
245 14 The movements of the chorus chanting the Carmen Saeculare of Horace‡h[microform].
260 0 University of Michigan Studies.‡c
300 49-66 p.
LDG ORIG
QD 06-06-91

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TECHNICAL MICROFORM DATA

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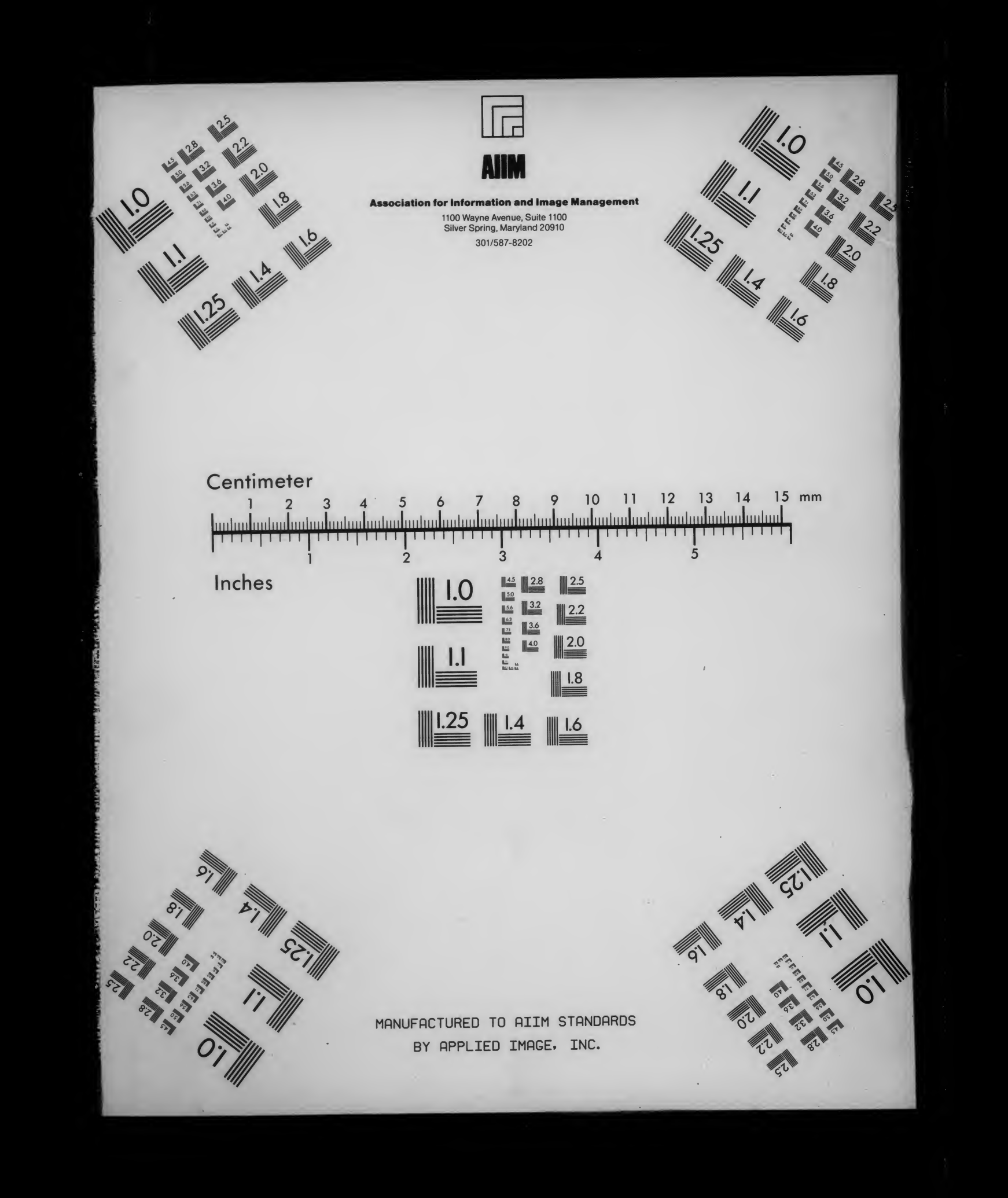
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THE MOVEMENTS OF THE CHORUS CHANTING THE CARMEN SAECULARE OF HORACE.

Previous to the discovery of the inscription commemorating the Saecular Games held by Augustus in 17 B. C., little attention had been paid to the movements of the chorus that chanted Horace's Carmen Saeculare. Steiner,[1] following Zosimus (Hist. 2, 5), represented the chorus as singing in the temple of Apollo on the Palatine hill; citing the reference to this hill (*Palatinas . . . arces*, l. 65) he remarks that in the entire hymn no mention is made of the temple upon the Capitoline. Schmelzkopf,[2] influenced perhaps by a note of Porphyrio (see p. 53), believed that the Carmen was sung also in the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, but evidently did not think of the chorus as chanting while they moved from one temple to the other. Kühn,[3] Ribbeck,[4] and Preller,[5] were of the opinion that the hymn was sung in the temple of Apollo Palatinus; but Preller went a step further and expressed his belief that on a certain coin of Domitian (described p. 55), struck in commemoration of the Ludi Saeculares, celebrated in his reign, the chorus is represented as singing the Carmen in the temple of Apollo, and not, as thought by some, in a procession. With this view Marquardt[6] agreed, basing his conclusion upon the statement of Zosimus and the coin; so also Kiessling and other editors of Horace. Down to 1891 scholars generally accepted without question the rendering of the hymn by a

[1] De Horatii Carmine Saeculari (Kreuznach, 1841), p. 3.
[2] De Horatiano Carm. Saec. disputatiuncula (Leipzig, 1838).
[3] De Q. Horatii Carm. Saec. (Breslau, 1877), p. 6.
[4] Gesch. der röm. Dichtung, vol. 2, p. 140.
[5] Röm. Myth. vol. 2³, p. 90; cf. also vol. 1, p. 310.
[6] Röm. Staatsverw., vol. 3², p. 393.

chorus in the temple of Apollo on the Palatine, on the third day of the festival.

In 1891, Theodore Mommsen took up the question in his commentary on the recently discovered Saecular inscription, and advanced the theory that the Carmen Saeculare was a processional, sung by a chorus moving from the temple of Apollo on the Palatine hill to the temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus upon the Capitoline, and thence returning. This contention started an active discussion, in which many have taken part. It would be foreign to our purpose to make an analysis of the various contributions to the literature of the subject, which have appeared in the last dozen years; they are for the most part easily accessible. It may suffice to mention among the more important papers and references, those of Wissowa,[1] Gardthausen,[2] Dressel,[3] Thiele,[4] Lanciani,[5] and Waltz,[6] who in the main accept Mommsen's view; and of Vahlen,[7] Wartenberg,[8] Christ,[9] Friedrich,[10] Schanz,[11] Gruppe,[12] Schöll,[13] Vollbrecht,[14] Hirsch-

[1] Die Saecularfeier des Augustus, Marburg, 1894.

[2] Augustus und seine Zeit, vol. 1, pp. 1015–1017; vol. 2, p. 630.

[3] Eph. Epig., vol. 8, pp. 313–314, no. 10.

[4] Horaz und sein Säkulargedicht, Erfurt, 1900.

[5] Pagan and Christian Rome, p. 81, and Atlantic Monthly, Feb., 1892, p. 152.

[6] Rev. de Phil., 1894, pp. 113 fol.

[7] Über das Säcularged icht des Horatius, Sitz. d. Berl. Acad., 1892, pp. 1005–1022.

[8] Jahresb. d. phil. Vereins zu Berlin, vol. 18 (1892), pp. 192–193.

[9] Das Carmen Saeculare und die neuaufgefundenen Säcularacten, Sitz. d. kgl. bayr. Acad., 1893, pp. 136 fol.

[10] Q. Horatius Flaccus, Phil. Untersuchungen (Leipzig, 1894), pp. 92 fol.

[11] Gesch. der röm. Litteratur, vol. 2^2, 1, pp. 115–117.

[12] Bursian's Jahresb. f. Altertumsw., 1894, III, pp. 112–115.

[13] Die Säcularfeier des Augustus und das Festgedicht des Horaz, Deutsche Rundschau, vol. 90 (1897), pp. 54–71.

[14] Das Säkularfest des Augustus (Gütersloh, 1900), pp. 33–35.

felder,[1] Lafaye,[2] and Slaughter,[3] who reject the processional theory. Boissier[4] does not express himself definitely. I have not seen the articles of Mosca,[5] or Basiner.[6] Notwithstanding the amount that has been written on the subject, the differences of opinion are still so marked that it seems worth while again to review the evidence in order, if possible, to reach the solution of a problem which, though in itself of no great moment, possesses a considerable degree of interest on account of its literary associations.

We begin with the statement of Mommsen which is of sufficient importance to warrant quoting in full:[7] "Hoc novum addiscimus carmen *quod composuit Q. Horatius Flaccus* non solum in Palatio cantatum esse sed item in Capitolio. Id quominus accipiamus de eodem carmine non brevi bis repetito argumentum obstat: nam ineptum foret Iovem Iunonemque ita celebrari ut neque in principio carminis neque in fine ipsi comparerent. At cum ab Apollinis Dianaeque laudibus carmen et incipiat et in eas desinat, media habet quae non conveniunt nisi diis Capitolinis. Eos, enim, quos *bobus veneratur albis* Augustus esse Capitolinos etsi poeta non dixit, ideo quod eorum propriae sunt victimae illae ab iis nominandis abstinuit, sublataque est de ea re dubitatio omnis actis patefactis. Itaque et auctorum de loco testatio et ipsa poetae sollertia aut admittunt aut adeo requirunt ut carmen statuamus cantatum esse a choris sollemni pompa ex Palatio ad Capitolium pergentibus et

[1] Woch. f. klass. Phil., 1901, pp. 319, 430.

[2] Sur le Carmen Saeculare d'Horace, Rev. de Phil., vol. 18 (1894), pp. 126 fol.

[3] The Acta Ludorum and the Carmen Saeculare of Horace, Trans. Amer. Phil. Assoc., 1895, pp. 69 fol.

[4] Les Jeux Séculaires d'Auguste, Rev. des Deux Mondes, vol. 110 (1892), pp. 75 fol.

[5] Carmen Saeculare, Esposizione e Commento, Chieti, 1895.

[6] Ludi Saeculares, Warschau, 1901.

[7] Ephemeris Epigraphica, vol. 8, pp. 256–257 = Mon. Ant. della Reale Acad. de'Lincei, vol. 1 (1891), p. 649.

inde redeuntibus ad aedem Apollinis Palatinam. Carmen qui legit, deos, qui pro Romula gente invocantur in medio eo, quominus habeat pro Apolline et Diana qui proxime praecedunt obstabat certe apud lectorem peritum proprietas victimarum; praeterea, qui audiverunt cantatum, quinam essent illi nullo modo dubitare poterant, modo statuas hos versus cantatos esse in conspectu aedis Iovis et Iunonis in Capitolio."

In an article entitled, Die Acten zu dem Säculargedicht des Horaz, which appeared in Die Nation of Dec. 12, 1891, Mommsen again states his view regarding the movement of the chorus. He says: "Es passt weiter wohl dazu (i. e. that stanzas 10–13 are directed to Jupiter and Juno) dass, wie die Akten bezeugen, das 'Lied'—nicht die Lieder—gesungen wird nicht bloss auf dem Palatin am Apollotempel, sondern auch auf dem Capitol an dem Heiligthum des Jupiter und der Juno. Ohne Frage ist das Gedicht ein Processionslied gewesen. Beginnend am Apollotempel, wo für diesen Tag der Mittelpunkt der Feier war, wird der Festzug über das Forum auf der Via Sacra zum Capitol hinaufgestiegen sein und dann von da sich zurück zum Palatin gewendet haben; und insofern ist es in der Ordnung, dass die ersten wie die letzten Strophen an Apollo und Diana, die mittleren an Jupiter und Juno gerichtet sind."

If we examine the facts brought forward by Mommsen to justify his conclusion, we find that he had before him no fresh evidence except that derived from the Saecular inscription. What bearing this has upon the question we shall see later; let us first examine the evidence, meager enough at best, which has come down to us from other sources.

These sources consist of two scholia to Horace, a passage in the History of Zosimus, certain Sibylline verses quoted both by Zosimus and by Phlegon Trallianus, and a coin of Domitian.

Of the two scholia one, falsely attributed to Acro,[1] is found in a manuscript of Horace of the eleventh century, at Paris (Bib. nat., no. 7975γ). It forms a part of the heading of the Carmen Saeculare, and reads thus: *Incipit Carmen Seculare, quod patrimi et matrimi cantarunt in choro puellarum et puerorum ad Apollinem et Dianam.* The other scholium is by Porphyrio,[2] and appears in the preface to his notes on the poem; it reads: *Hoc Carmen Saeculare inscribitur. Cum enim Saeculares ludos Augustus celebraret, secundum ritum priscae religionis a virginibus puerisque praetextatis in Capitolio cantatum est.*

The testimony of the second scholium, that the Carmen was sung upon the Capitoline hill, may possibly be a reminiscence of the Saecular inscription; the language of the first is easily reconcilable with the supposition that the hymn was chanted in the temple of Apollo Palatinus, in which Diana and Latona were also honored; but in neither is there any hint that the poem was rendered by the chorus when passing from one temple to the other.

The passage in Zosimus (Hist. 2, 5) forms a part of a somewhat detailed description of the celebration of the Saecular games by Augustus. 'On the third day' says this writer, 'in the temple of Apollo upon the Palatine, twenty-seven boys and as many girls, of prominent families, whose fathers and mothers were still living, chanted in both the Greek and the Latin language songs and hymns of praise for the preservation of the cities under Roman sway.' [3]

Here we find it unequivocally stated that the hymn was sung in the temple upon the Palatine. Nothing is said of a repetition upon the Capitoline, nor is there any intimation

[1] Ed. Hauthal, vol. 1, p. 433, ll. 13–15.

[2] Ed. Holder, p. 180, ll. 1–6.

[3] Ἡμέρᾳ δὲ τρίτῃ ἐν τῷ κατὰ τὸ παλάτιον Ἀπόλλωνος ἱερῷ τρὶς ἐννέα παῖδες ἐπιφανεῖς μετὰ παρθένων τοσούτων, οἱ πάντες ἀμφιθαλεῖς, ὅπερ ἐστίν, ἀμφοτέρους τοὺς γονεῖς ἔχοντες περιόντας, ὑμνους ᾄδουσι τῇ τε Ἑλλήνων καὶ Ῥωμαίων φωνῇ καὶ παιᾶνας δι' ὧν αἱ ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίους σώζονται πόλεις.

of a procession. The character of Zosimus's description, and its substantial accuracy in other important particulars, indicate that he was taking his information from a trustworthy source; hence it is all the more remarkable, if the Carmen Saeculare was a processional, that he did not find mention of the fact, or, finding it, failed to make reference to it.

The Sibylline verses[1] are of doubtful value, yet they must not be left out of consideration. Thirty-seven verses are quoted by Zosimus; of these ll. 16–22 only are of present interest. They read: 'And Phoebus Apollo, Leto's son, who is also called the god of the sun, should receive like offerings; and let the men of Latin race frequent the sanctuary of the deathless gods, singing hymns of praise out of the mouths of youths and maidens. These should chant their songs responsively, but all must be children of living parents, whose line still flourishes.'[2]

While the reference to the 'deathless gods' in this passage may be general, the close connection with the preceding makes it seem clear that the poet had in mind Apollo and Diana, and the temple on the Palatine; but in any case, so far as the passage may be taken as referring to the movement of a chorus, *ἔχοιεν* is inconsistent with the idea of a procession.

[1] Quoted both by Zosimus (*l. l.*), and by Phlegon Trallianus (freedman of Hadrian) *περὶ Μακροβίων*, 4. The works of the latter writer are found in the Scriptores Paradoxorum et Rerum Naturalium, ed. Otto Keller, vol. 1, pp. 57 fol. See also Diels, Sibyllinische Blätter (Berlin, 1890) *passim* and especially pp. 133–135; and Stengel, zum Säkularorakel, Hermes, vol. 27 (1892), pp. 446–451.

[2] Καὶ Φοῖβος Ἀπόλλων
ὅστε καὶ ἠέλιος κικλήσκεται, ἶσα δεδέχθω
θύματα Λητοΐδης, καὶ ἀειδόμενοί τε Λατῖνοι
παιᾶνες κούροις κούρῃσί τε νηὸν ἔχοιεν
ἀθανάτων. χωρὶς δὲ κόραι χορὸν αὖται ἔχοιεν
καὶ χωρὶς παίδων ἄρσην στάχος, ἀλλὰ γονήων
πάντες ζωόντων, τοῖς ἀμφιθαλεῖς ἔτι φύτλη.

Four coins were struck in commemoration of the celebration of the Saecular Games in 17 B. C.; not less than fifteen are known that commemorate the celebration of the Ludi Saeculares by Domitian, in 87 A. D. Among the latter is one of interest in relation to our subject (Cohen, Mon. frap. sous l'empire rom., Domitian, no. 79; discussed by Dressel, Eph. Epig., vol. 8, p. 313, no. 10, figured Tab. I, 10). On the reverse are seen two boys clad in the toga and a girl, all carrying small branches in their uplifted right hands, and advancing toward the right. The association with Domitian's celebration is obvious from the legend: COS XIIII LVD· SAEC· FEC S. C

Notwithstanding the assertion of Preller, already referred to (p. 49), it appears probable that the group on the coin is intended to represent a moving procession. We can hardly suppose that Horace's Carmen Saeculare was repeated in the celebration under Domitian; and we do not know for certain that a similar hymn was specially composed for this occasion. But if we assume that the singing of a hymn like that of Horace formed a part of the religious exercises of the third day in Domitian's Ludi Saeculares, does it follow that precisely this feature of the festival is commemorated on the coin? And if this be considered a reasonable supposition, are we warranted in using so insecure evidence in determining a point relating to the celebration by Augustus more than one hundred years before?

The procession was a common and characteristic feature of ancient religious celebrations, both Greek and Roman,—a fact so familiar that no citing of specific instances is necessary.[1] We may freely grant that in the celebration of the Ludi Saeculares no visual effect was more striking than the appearance of the chorus of youths and maidens; none would have been more apt to impress a designer who desired

[1] Cf. p. 60.

to commemorate the occasion in plastic art. Yet on the supposition that the chorus in Domitian's celebration, as in that of Augustus, sung first in the temple of Apollo on the Palatine and then in that of Jupiter on the Capitoline, we may inquire which the designer of the coin would have found better adapted for conventional representation in so diminutive a relief, the group of youths and maidens as they were actually singing in either temple, or the aspect of them moving in procession as they passed from one temple to the other? To my mind the answer is obvious; the simplicity and movement of the latter gave it so great an advantage that the designer without hesitation would have chosen to emphasize the chorus rather than the song. On the supposition that Domitian's coin commemorates the chorus which chanted a Saecular hymn, there is no reason to suppose that the artist intended to represent it as singing either in the temple or in the open air; the song was plainly enough suggested by the representation of the singers. Without confirmatory evidence we should not be justified in basing upon this coin any conclusion in regard to the use of Horace's or any other Carmen Saeculare as a processional; and it is worthy of note in this connection that, as we learn from the Saecular inscription (l. 21, *choros habendos*), the chorus in the Ludi Saeculares of Augustus was called upon to render other hymns as well.

The early part of this inscription, containing the directions in regard to the composition and duties of the chorus, is unfortunately mutilated; but the lines that are concerned with the singing of the Saecular hymn are in a more satisfactory condition. In lines 139–146 is a description of the sacrifice offered to Apollo and Diana on the third day of the celebration, upon the Palatine hill; then we read (lines 147–149): *Sacrificioque perfecto pueri [X]XVII quibus denuntiatum erat patrimi et matrimi et puellae totidem | carmen cecinerunt, eo[de]mque modo in Capitolio. | Carmen composuit Q. Hor[at]ius Flaccus.*

The meaning is plain. Immediately after the sacrifice to Apollo and Diana upon the Palatine hill the chorus sang—naturally in the same place—the hymn which Horace had composed for the occasion; after that they sang the hymn 'in like manner,' that is, a second time, upon the Capitoline. A repetition is clearly implied; but while the words *eodemque modo in Capitolio* show that the chorus must have passed from the Palatine to the Capitoline hill, there is in them no suggestion of movement, such as we should have expected to find if the chorus chanted the formal hymn on the way; for we are dealing here with an official document, the purpose of which was to transmit to posterity a minute description of the ceremonies which no one living would ever witness again—a document which was drawn up so soon after the event, that mention of so important a feature as the use of Horace's poem as a processional, in case it had been so used, would not have been omitted.

It is not important for our purpose to inquire whether the Carmen Saeculare was sung in the temples of Apollo and of Jupiter, or before the temples. The indefiniteness of the references to place (*in Palatio*, l. 139; *in Capitolio*, l. 148), the immediate connection between the sacrifice, offered naturally on the altar in the court of the temple of Apollo, and the singing of the hymn, and finally the necessity of providing room for the audience that must have been permitted to be present on the occasion, suggest the conclusion that the hymn in each instance was rendered in the temple court. Some weight should be attributed also to a consideration advanced by Friedrich (Q. Horatius Flaccus, Phil. Untersuchungen, pp. 98 fol.) which is based upon the similarity between the program of the third day and that of the second. On the second day a sacrifice was offered to Juno Regina upon the Capitoline, followed by a prayer to the goddess said by 110 matrons. The prayer was evidently offered at the place of sacrifice, in the open; and in like manner the hymn following the sacrifice to Apollo on the

third day was probably rendered before the temple. But the chanting of the hymn near the altar before the temple is as inconsistent with the use of it as a processional as the rendering of it in the edifice itself would be.

We can not leave the inscription without raising the question whether the phrase *eodemque modo* can possibly be invested with the meaning required by Mommsen's theory. The expression is obviously elliptical, but it is easy to supply the missing parts; the clause in full would read, *eodemque modo carmen in Capitolio cecinerunt.* The point at issue really is, whether a Roman would have used *eodem modo* with reference to the chanting, upon the Capitoline hill, of a small portion of a hymn, the greater part of which had been already chanted on the way between the Palatine and the Capitoline.

An examination of a considerable number of passages, in which *eodem modo* occurs, will make it apparent to any one that this phrase is used ordinarily to introduce a situation or condition that is almost identical with a preceding situation or condition, and which in fact differs from the preceding only in relatively unimportant particulars. A few instances in point are:

Cic. De Off. 2, 35, Quam ob rem, ut volgus, ita nos hoc loco loquimur, ut alios fortes, alios viros bonos, alios prudentes esse dicamus; popularibus enim verbis est agendum et usitatis, cum loquimur de opinione populari, idque eodem modo fecit Panaetius.

Here Cicero says that he feels obliged to use expressions with which people in general are familiar, and that Panaetius did likewise, that is, Panaetius treated subjects in a way that the common people could understand.

Cic. De Fin., 4, 50, eodem enim modo tibi nemo dabit, quod expetendum sit, id esse laudabile.

Cicero now applies a principle, formerly stated, to a new illustration, and draws a similar conclusion; *eodem modo* is equivalent to 'just as before.' Similar is Cato Maior, 8,

Quod eodem modo de senectute dici potest, where Cicero applies to old age a general principle drawn from a concrete illustration, that just as personal ability and favorable surroundings are necessary to a man's success, so happiness in old age depends upon the possession of both wisdom and moderate means. In these passages the sense of *eodem modo* is 'likewise,' 'in like manner,' 'also,' and approaches closely to 'again.'

Other illustrations of the use of this phrase might be cited; but it is needless to multiply instances. The same phrase occurs twice elsewhere in our inscription, each time with the meaning, 'likewise,' 'also.' One instance is in l. 83, *a. d. III k. Iun. eodem modo fruges acceperunt;* the other in l. 109, *Deinde ludi Latini in theatro ligneo quod erat constitutum in campo secundum Tiberim sunt commissi, eodemque modo sellisternia matres familiae habuerunt.* This last passage should be compared with l. 101, which describes the first celebration of the *sellisternia.* These two instances, together with that under consideration, in no respect differ from current usage. We are safe in concluding that had the author of the inscription had in mind the use of the Carmen Saeculare as a processional, of which only a small part was chanted upon the Capitoline, he must have used an altogether different form of expression; for *eodemque modo in Capitolio* distinctly implies the repetition of the entire hymn. The brevity of the expression is easily explained by the unwillingness to draw attention from the main features of the celebration on the third day, which was devoted to the worship of Apollo and Diana.

Our analysis of the evidence thus far has seemed to show, first, that the Carmen Saeculare was sung by the chorus upon the Palatine hill, and then repeated upon the Capitoline; and secondly, that the supposition of its use as a processional is without valid support. It remains for us to see whether any new light can be thrown upon the subject from the study of other instances of choral hymns at Rome,

and whether the content of Horace's hymn offers any hint in regard to its musical rendition.

It was a common practice in connection with certain religious celebrations, for choruses of boys and girls to sing hymns while advancing in procession through the city; or from one temple to another. These ceremonies were ordinarily instituted on the occurrence of prodigies which were interpreted as indicating the displeasure of a divinity.[1] Thus from Livy, 27, 37 we learn that in the year 207 B. C. during the struggle with Hannibal, fearful signs and portents appeared throughout Italy. At a mandate issued by the pontifices, twenty-seven maidens advanced in procession through the city singing a hymn (*per urbem euntes carmen canerent*). We are fortunate in having preserved to us the name of the composer, the poet Livius. Later in the same chapter Livy relates how the temple of Juno Regina upon the Aventine was struck by lightning. Among measures taken to appease the supposed anger of the goddess, twenty-seven maidens, clad in long robes, sang a hymn, moving in procession to the temple of Juno by a route which the historian fully describes.

Again in 200 B. C., as we learn from Livy 31, 12, strange phenomena and prodigies occurred, and again, in consequence of a decree issued by the decemviri, a hymn was sung in procession (*per urbem*) by twenty-seven maidens. The hymn for this occasion was composed by P. Licinius Tegula.

Although these instances[2] seem parallel, they are essentially different from the ceremonies connected with the Saecular Games. In the former the hymn was sung to propitiate or appease certain divinities whom the Romans

[1] See Livy, 36, 37; 40, 19, etc., and the *Liber Prodigiorum* of Jul. Obsequens; cf. the following footnote, and F. Luterbacher, Der Prodigienglaube und der Prodigienstil der Römer, Burgdorf, 1880.

[2] A full list of such references will be found in Marquardt, Röm. Staatsverw., vol. 3², pp. 259 fol.

on the appearance of terrible signs believed to be offended. The signs varied, the divinities appealed to were not always the same, the singing was attended with various ceremonies, but the theme of all was the same; they were propitiatory verses, rather than songs of praise and prayer; but to the latter category assuredly belongs the poem of Horace, which was addressed to favoring and protecting deities. The Ludi Saeculares may have had their origin in propitiatory ceremonies, but the original purpose of the celebration was doubtless lost sight of in the time of Augustus.[1] Again, we have no knowledge of the contents of the poems which Livius or Tegula composed. We therefore can not tell whether they were appropriate for a procession, unhampered in its movements, or for one passing over a prescribed route. It is probable that these propitiatory hymns were sung by a chorus that was unrestricted in time and position. Finally, Livy takes the pains to point out in every instance the fact that the chorus moved in procession through the city,—in marked contrast with the testimony of our inscription.

Even in the case of propitiatory *carmina*, however, instances are not wanting of the chorus singing at the temple only. This seems clear from a passage in Macrobius. On the occurrence of prodigies, the Sibylline books were consulted, and the duumvirs reported (Sat. 1, 6, 13): *in Capitolio supplicandum . . . Acta igitur obsecratio est pueris ingenuis itemque libertinis sed et virginibus patrimis matrimisque pronuntiantibus carmen.* Also in Livy 37, 3 and Julius Obsequens, 40; 48,[2] where the situation in each case is similar, although no mention is made of singing, it is highly probable that this was the part which the boys and girls took in the *supplicatio*.

We come now to an examination of the Carmen Saeculare

[1] Cf. Pinza, Sopra l'origine dei ludi Tarentini o Saeculares, Bull. com., vol. 24 (1896), pp. 191–230.

[2] Cf. also Jul. Obs. (ed. Jahn) 36; 43; 46; 53, when specific mention is made of choruses singing in procession.

itself. Many theories have been set forth concerning the division of the hymn in the assignment of the stanzas to the youths and maidens. The question need not be discussed at length in this place, since it does not intimately concern our subject. The arrangement first suggested by Steiner[1] is usually followed. The first and second stanzas are addressed to Apollo and Diana. The third stanza also is really an invocation to Apollo, ὅστε καὶ ἠέλιος κικλήσκεται. Stanzas 4–6 are directed to Ilithyia. This goddess of childbirth was sometimes represented in Greek and Roman mythology as the daughter of Juno, at other times identified with Juno or with Diana.[2] We may regard Ilithyia in the passage before us as a conception closely related to that of the virgin goddess. A separate divinity is indicated, however, in the Sibylline verses (l. 9), where the plural form of the name is used, and in the inscription (ll. 115–118) a separate sacrifice is made to the Ilithyiae. In the seventh stanza the Parcae are invoked, and in the eighth, Ceres; in the first half of the ninth, Apollo, and in the second half, Luna or Diana. The assignment of stanzas 10–12 is disputed. Stanza 13 is addressed to Jupiter and Juno; this is clearly shown by the use of the plural, *vos*; by the language of the inscription ll. 103, 119, directing that sacrifices of a *bos mas* and a *bos femina* be made respectively to Jupiter Optimus Maximus and to Juno Regina; and also by ll. 12–16 of the Sibylline poem, πάνλευκοι ταῦροι δὲ Διὸς παρὰ βωμὸν ἀγέσθων . . . δαμάλης τε βοὸς δέμας ἀγλαὸν Ἥρης δεξάσθω νηός. With regard to stanzas 10–12 we may inquire,—Are they addressed to all the gods (as ll. 45, 46, the beginning of the apodosis, might indicate), or to Apollo and Diana, who are

[1] This arrangement is found in the editions of Wickham, Orelli-Hirschfelder, Dillenburger, and others, and is adopted by Friedrich, Q. Horatius Flaccus, Phil. Untersuchungen, pp. 93–95.

[2] Cf. Pauly, Realencyclopädie, and Daremberg and Saglio, Dict. des Ant., *s. v.* Ilithyia. See also Baur, Eileithyia, in University of Missouri Studies, vol. 1, pp. 267 fol.

invoked in the preceding stanza, or to Jupiter and Juno, who are addressed in the following stanza? The second supposition,[1] which I prefer, is strengthened by the words, *audi, audi* (ll. 34, 35), with which the chorus beseeches the attention of Apollo and Diana. Stanzas 14 and 15 form a short discourse upon the present dominion, morality, and prosperity of the empire. The sixteenth and seventeenth stanzas are again addressed to Apollo, the eighteenth to Diana. The last stanza declares the hope of the chorus that their prayer is heard by Jupiter and by all the gods. We may thus outline the poem according to the following division:

Stanzas	1, 2,	addressed to	Apollo and Diana,
"	3,	"	" Apollo,
"	4–6,	"	" Ilithyia (Diana),
"	7,	"	" the Parcae,
"	8,	"	" Ceres,
"	9–12,	"	" Apollo and Diana,
"	13,	"	" Jupiter and Juno,
"	14, 15,	relating the present condition of the empire,	
"	16, 17,	addressed to	Apollo,
"	18,	"	" Diana,
"	19,	expressing hope of the chorus.	

This analysis makes it clear that the Carmen Saeculare was addressed chiefly to the Palatine divinities, Apollo and Diana.[2] Of the nineteen stanzas, ten contain direct invocations to these deities; while only one can be assigned to Jupiter and Juno, whose names, even in this stanza, are not explicitly mentioned. The hymn, moreover, was sung on a day especially dedicated to the worship of Apollo and Diana, and immediately after sacrifice had been offered to them; and the closing lines of the poem refer to the

[1] Vahlen, Kiessling, Wickham, Hirschfelder and other scholars refer these stanzas to Apollo and Diana.

[2] See Hermann, De loco Apollinis in Carmine Saeculari, Gött., 1843.

chorus as trained to sing the praises of these divinities, *doctus et Phoebi chorus et Dianae dicere laudes.* The fact that the Capitoline gods are not mentioned by name is explained by Mommsen (*supra* p. 52), though not satisfactorily, by supposing that the people present at the celebration understood what divinities were indicated in stanzas 10–13 (ll. 37–52) from the position of the chorus which was already in sight of the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus.

But there is reason to suppose that the character of the Ludi Saeculares, as celebrated by Augustus, was quite different from that of the earlier time. They were no longer a festival in honor of Dispater and Proserpina, as when first instituted (Val. Max, 2, 4, 5). During all the ceremonies a prominent place was given to Apollo, whose worship in Italy was greatly extended during the last of the first century B. C., and who was regarded as the direct protector of the emperor and his family.[1]

If we adopt the theory of Mommsen, we must assume that at least the first three stanzas of the hymn were sung at the temple of Apollo. The chorus would then begin to move on its way to the Capitoline hill, and could properly sing the following five stanzas. But how are we to regard the ninth stanza which a second time directly invokes Apollo and Diana? What is still more difficult, at the very next verse, according to Mommsen's assignment, the chorus should be standing before the temple of Jupiter. If at this sanctuary the chorus sang through stanza 13, only two verses remain before the procession should have returned to the Palatine hill. Are we to assume, then, that the chorus sang six stanzas on the way to the Capitoline, and

[1] See Preller, Röm. Myth. vol. 1³, pp. 309–311; Kiessling, Zu Augusteischen Dictern (Phil. Untersuch., vol. 3), p. 92; Pascal, Il Culto di Apollo in Roma nel secolo di Augusto, Bull. com., vol. 22 (1894), pp. 52–88.

but two in returning? Such an arrangement would not have been symmetrical.[1]

But the theory of a processional, furthermore, does not meet the topographical requirements. The path of the chorus would be along the Clivus Palatinus to about the point where the Arch of Titus stood in later times, thence by the Via Sacra to the Clivus Capitolinus, which led by a long winding path to the area before the shrine. The distance covered by the chorus in passing over this route may be calculated roughly as about 3500 feet. We must suppose that such processions moved very slowly; but, not to lay emphasis on the infelicitous choice of the sapphic stanza[2] for a hymn to be sung while marching, the adjustment of the choral performance to the distance traversed would be difficult.

Naturally other hypotheses suggest themselves which might still make Mommsen's theory possible. We may suppose that the Carmen was repeated, perhaps several times. But since the theory of a procession depends altogether upon the assignment of the first and last portions to Apollo and Diana and the middle portion to Jupiter and Juno, such a theory may be entertained only by assuming a single rendering of the hymn. Or, we may say that the chorus left the temple of Apollo at the very first line and returned at the very last. But this also involves difficulties and inconsistencies. Even in such a case the poem is too short for a single rendering by a procession moving slowly over so great a distance. The least objectionable method is to suppose that each line was repeated several times, like the song of the Arval Brethren. But Mommsen does not approve of a line repetition, which in the case of so finished

[1] A slightly different arrangement is conceived by Thiele, Horaz und sein Säkulargedicht (Erfurt, 1900), pp. 25–27, and by Wissowa, Die Saecularfeier des Augustus (Marburg, 1894), p. 22, n. 13.

[2] Cf. Christ, Sitz. d. kgl. bayr. Acad., 1893, pp. 143, 144.

a work as Horace's Carmen Saeculare would in fact have been quite unsuitable.

In conclusion, it seems to me probable that the Carmen Saeculare, as a whole, was first sung upon the Palatine hill, in front of the temple of Apollo, immediately after sacrifice had been offered to the god; that then in stately procession the chorus passed over to the Capitoline hill, possibly chanting hymns along the way, and waving branches of laurel; and that there the Carmen was repeated.[1]

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[1] An interesting attempt at rendering the Carmen Saeculare in procession is recorded in the The Century Magazine, Oct. 1899, pp. 842–848.